## Published every Tuesday.

TERMS. If paid within three months,
If paid withinthree months after the close of the year, 3. 50

If not paid within that time, 4. 00

A company of six persons taking the paper at the same Post Office, shall be entitled to it at \$15,

paid in advance, and a company of ten persons at \$20; provided the names be forwarded togeth-

er, accompanied by the money.

No paper to be discontinued but at the option of the Editor till arrearages are paid.

Advertisements inserted for 75 cents per square the first time, and 371 for each subsequent inser-

Persons sending in advertisements are request-ed to specify the number of times they are to be inserted; otherwise they will be continued till ordered out, and charged accordingly.

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Col. Manning's Speech in the House of Representatives, on the Abolition Question, Febru-

The resolution of Mr. PINCENEY, of South Carolina, was adopted by an overwhelming vote in the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, on the 8th of February, and is as follows:

"Resolved, That all the memorials which have been offered, or may hereafter be presented to this House, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and also the resolutions offered by an honorable member from Maine, (Mr. Jarvis,) with the amendment thereto, proposed by an honorable member from Virginia, (Mr. Wise,) and every other paper or proposition that may be submitted in relation to that subject, be referred to a Select Committee, with instructions to report that Congress possesses no constitutional authority to interfere in any way with the institution of slavery in any of the States of this confederacy; and that in the opinion of this House, Congress ought not to interfere in any way with slavery in the District of Columbia, because it would be a violation of the public faith unwise, impolitic, and dangerous to the Union assigning such reasons for these conclusions as in the judgment of the committee may be best calculated to enlighten the public mind, to repress egitation, to allay excitement, to sustain and preserve the just rights of the slaveholding States. and of the people of this District, and to re-establish harmony and tranquillity amongst the various sections of the Union."

On a subsequent day, abolition memorials or petitions were presented to the House. Members contended, that under the adopted resolutions above referred to, all petitions subsequently of-fered, were necessarily and properly referable to this Select Committee raised under the resolutions. Other gentlemen contended against this consequential reference, and insisted that petitions not under the action of the House, or not presented when the resolutions were adopted, might receive a different direction than a direct reference to the Select Committee. The honorable Speaker decided, that such petitions as were afterwards presented might properly take any other direction, or might be open for discussion. On Tuesday, the 23:1 February, on the present-ment of abolition memorials or petitions, much indirect discussion or debate was entertained by the House. At length a motion was made to reverse the previous decision of the Speaker, so that necessarily, under the resolutions, all abolition memorials or petitions introduced into the House, should go to the Select Committee raised under Mr. Pickney's resolutions. On the vote of the House, the Speaker's decision was reversed by a vote of 147 to 56.

As considerable latitude had been given to gentlemen in the course of the debate which incidentally arose,

Mr. Manning, of South Carolina, made

the following remarks: Mr. Speaker: Should the decision of the chair, which has been made, remain unreversed, then this strange anomaly will be forced to result from it, that the resolutions offered by my colleague from South Carolina, (Mr. Pinckney,) and adopted by an overwhelming majority of this House, intended to answer a definite and special obof which they were supported by their friends. The objects, highly important, as we believe them to be, intended to be accomplished by their adoption, will, after the mature and deliberate action of this branch of Congress, be wholly changed. I trust that no skill, however adroitly or powerfulty used, will ever so far succeed as to prevent the full action of these resolutions from effectuating those important final results, which the originator and friends of them do most ardently anticipate. We hope in the under its legitimate functional action. No parliamentary law, sanctioned by wisdom and consecrated by usage, can be more so. If the Speaker can by his decision reverse these resolutions, which express and mean that all the memorials which have been offered, or may hereafter be presented to this House, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, be referred to a select committee, &c." so as to mean no more than that all petitions or memorials which had been received at the time of the adoption of the resolutions, shall be referred to the Select Committee, raised under them, and that therefore all of a like character, subsequently introduced, could be allowed to take any other direction, then the whole character, scope, and extent, of them will be so limited as to countervail the specified and declared objects of them.

I know full well the responsibility and deand acknowledge how important it is to the south, but in the north, that the established ed by all parties in his general efforts to pre- | gered.

serve proper decorum. I would do all in my power, generally, to sustain the Speaker; but, in this instance, I feel a paramount duty for discussion will produce excitement; one honor of my country, to that of France, and to myself and to my country, to urge upon this House a reversal of his decision. I

wish that this course had been pursued at the very first moment, when indications were given that the usual mode of disposing of these memorials and petitions was to be abandoned. The usual practice of both branches of Congress has been to lay them on the table, or to refer them to a committee. This has been the practice not only

of this House, but of the Senate also. There

they were laid, there they have remained, to sleep that sleep of oblivion which they so justly merit. On some occasions, such petitions were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, from whose safe keeping they never escaped to see the light of evil which they were calculated to produce, through the agency of wicked or thoughtless citizens, who originated them or sent them here. It has been painful to many, and indeed to most of this House, that we have been carried away from that practice of both Houses of Congress, in the disposition of anti-slavery memorials and petitions, which, heretofore, has been found so safe and politic. We were driven reluctantly to pursue some mode by which we hoped to arrest that tendency of things here, which we deeply feared might lead to incalculable evils, and to dangerous results. We hoped, by these resolutions, to stay debate, to prevent discussion, to keep down irritating, heartburning invectives, and to unite Congress by a strong expression of its feelings and opinions, both as regards the States, and the District of Columbia; so as to remove doubts, give renewed security, and unite us once more in the bonds of common interest, and of united affections; and that we might meet and unite upon a broad and common ground, from which distracting and agitating questions might be avoided, and where varying and practically unimportant abstract notions and opinions might have no influence in preventing useful and practical results. Our aim has been to reach practical objects, to prevent discussion, to keep down the excitement of one portion of the Union against the other, to restore harmony, confidence, and that feeling of security to life, liberty, and property

in this country. My bed is not refreshing or Virginia do any such act, or make any interests of the south—could not, as a to me as it used to be. Unhappy visions such transference. The constitution of neises of the Covernflit across my mind; thorns are planted un- ther State gave any such power to their res. ment; do otherwise than vote that this prinder my pillow; the air does not refresh me as in other days; the sunbeams do not bring those gladdening and animating sensations to my frame, as was the case when our southern country was happier and more united; when the South, the land of generous feeling and of noble sentiment, the land of hospitality and of elegant and polished life, of warm, impassioned, and sweeping eloquence, and of moral and intellectual power, was one and united. These are the bright features by which our southern States have the slaves in the District of Columbia, until ever been characterized; these are the fine the people of Virginia and Maryland, in conthe South. This interesting country, in see proper to confer the power. I believe earlier and happier days, was full of hope, and rioted in the grand prospective of the distant future; and as the series of events unfolded the rising prosperity of our State and common country, all was joy, hope, and gladness. The times are changing; slowly operating causes are producing disconject, will be wholly defeated; because they tent; undefined apprehensions are succeedwill be essentially changed, so as to fail in | ing to full and unlimited confidence; a thrilanswering the most important purposes for ling sensibility has been awakened, under which they were originated, and on account | clouded apprehensions, that attempts may be made to unsettle the existing order of things by an interference directly in the District of Columbia, at no distant day, with the rights of the slave owners; and by making this a mere first move into a more extended and general system of operation in the slave. holding States at some still more distant day. The object of the friends of these resolutions is to disabuse the public; to substitute for improper, correct statements; to ples upon which rests fundamentally not present just views of northern sentiment only our Government, but without which and feeling in relation to our institutions; God of our country, that the exponent of and to give the other portions of our comthese will be such as to gladden the hearts mon country an opportunity of putting down ground? It is one which is impracticable; of patriots, and soothe arising irritations, by those wild and erratic movements at the renewing confidence in every portion of this north, by which those who aim at pressing widely extended country. I regard these their memorials and petitions upon Congress resolutions as settled rules for this House, that they may produce discussion, excite as much so as any which it can adopt feelings, and thus to force themselves and their objects into the notice and under consideration of a thinking, speaking, and writing age, may fall short of their aim. Their success will best be secured, and their ends best answered, if they can but so far press themselves and their objects upon the notice of the country as to produce excitement, awaken resentment, or elicit abuse. indignant rebukes of the lovers of order and compromises, under which our fathers, with stable government, they will dwindle down to their fathers, cleaved down British power their proper and safe dimensions. If let alone, they will sink into that insignificance which they merit; they will sink under those rebukes from the moral and intellectual forces of our northorn brethren which seem to await them. If they progress, the battle must be, will be, fought at the north. The good of society, the safety and happiness of every portion of this country, will bring about this result; for if these cru-If this be true, then he has power to suspend, alter, or change, any deliberate act saders against the rights and interests of the slaveholding States, are permitted by of this House, intended as a rule for its go. northern portions of this country to move on in their erratic course, they will produce licacy of the Speaker's situation, I feel such throes and convulsions, not only in the

northern excitement; each will grow in character and in degree, until a grand northsouthern interest. The north, then, becomes arrayed against the south, and the south against the north. I will not allow myself to inquire, under a conjuncture like this, what will become of this our beloved and happy country? Under such circum-The ground assumed in the resolutions is which all may safely unite, but is one broad of day, or to accomplish that magnitude and ample enough to sustian all the rights and interests of the South.

Under the compromises of the States

which led to the formation of this Govern-

ment and to the adoption of the constitution of the United States, we believe, however other gentlemen may differ from us, that Congress, under them, has no power whatever to interfere directly or indirectly with the slave property of the citizens within the District of Columbia, no more than it has to interfere with houses or land or any other description of property. It cannot do this otherwise than in such way, and for such high and necessary purposes as has been clearly and definitely expressed in the constitution itself. Property cannot be taken by the Government from its citizens without full & adequate compensation; and then only for such important purposes, and for such absolute wants, as the safety of the country may require. Under these compromises, in reference to the property of the slaveholding States, the constitution of the United States was adopted; with these understandings, the Government was formed: upon these, as their proper basis, rest the On the question to receive, the vote in the constitution and Government. These, then, under legitimate deductions of reason, are Government; and under their broad banner of General Sumter, of South Carolina. It but, sir, all the friends of southern rights do not settled, and excitement and agitation the spirit and life of the constitution and we the people will protect and defend our property and lives, should this sad alternativo ever be forced upon us. When Virginia and Maryland made a cession of the ten miles square, within the limits of this without which governments cannot long exist in this age of the world, and without which they would, if they could exist, be a States would be or could be transferred to Congress, so that it could interfere with the more confidence than in any man in Con-Sir, I have been filled with anxiety and rights of property of their citizens, who liv- gress at that time, could not, as a republicare at the course which things are taking ed upon the soil. Neither could Maryland can, with all his perfect devotion to the true pective Legislatures. If no such power resided in the constitution, then any such attempt to exercise it on the part of the Legislatures would have been a gross usurpa-tion of power, never yielded by the people. Nothing but an act of the people, in convention, could have yielded that power, which certainly was never granted under those State constitutions. Then it is as clear as light, that the Congress of the United States never can interfere, so as to emancipate traits which adorn the lovely character of ventions of the people of those States, shall that an unfortunate issue was made up, when a fundamental principle of our government was connected with the question of slavery. What would, if this course should be pursued, be the result? By a forced and unnatural action of this House, you would drive-not the abolitionists, for they under any circumstances are and vill be against us-but you drive on a most important vote, those who differ with us on a inere abstract legal opinion, but who are among our very best friends; the abiding friends of southern rights, and who are firm and unwavering supporters of those compromises, under which the States united, to form the Government of the United States. This denial of the right to petition gentle. men never could have yielded. They would have been rebuked by public sentiment for yielding one of those great princino free government can exist. Besides, sir, where was the necessity of taking this one which cannot be maintained by republicans. It would, if persevered in, drive from us those very friends who, to protect and defend the existing order of things, to preserve the Government, protect and defend the Union of these States, and the rights and interests of the southern, or of any other portion of this confederacy, would, in the manly and patriotic language of the present Governor of Massachusetts, used some years ago, "buckle on their knapsacks, and, with arms in hand, rally to the support of the laws and constitution of this coun-Under the silence of contempt, or under the try." Yes, sir, to the defence of those very in this country, and under which they, together, built up that form of Government, which is the admiration of the civilized

world at this day. every direction, like as from a great central erably disturbing petitions and memorials. fire, would not, like common radiant heat, orderly management and proper delibera-order of things will become unsettled; the connected with it so many dangers to this public legislative journals—look over the time Bloke tion of this body, that he should be sustain-tion of this body, that he should be sustain-reign of law and of liberty will be endan-Union as this very question of slavery. The unhappy relations which lately existed be. States, and you will find nothing to disprove . I del assured that the virtuous, the con-

The South, sir, ought never to debate | tween this country, and France, and which | what I have here asserted. Sir, I am not | isderate, the lovers of order, the support is this question; it ought never to discuss it, I thank God, are so happily settled to the degree of excitement will beget another; a of England, was, to the lovers of order and sewarm and animated southern excitement curity, a matter of secondary importance; will, nay, must, produce a corresponding nay, a war with France and with the combined world, and a fortunate and happy issue out of it, could not be of half so momenern interest may stand opposed to a grand tous a consideration to this country as a proper and safe settlement of this vexing and harrassing question.

This settlement could not be accomplish-

ed, and never will be accomplished by motions to reject, "in limine", petititions or tuous and enlightened clergy; and more changes on every Government in christenmemorials. Good results can never be pro- than all, by the arrangements, under the dom. I have predicated my opinions and stances, truly will the hearts of patriots duced by illegitimate and unwarrantable plans of Divine Providence, that no questremble for the ark of our political safety. means. If petitions and memorials are presented, licentiously abusing the sacred and us. Our policy has been, and still is, never not only a broad and common one, upon fundamental right of petition; on the receipt, to discuss, never to entertain discussions. Congress will instantly reject, or pursue And if the countless guards, which we besuch mode, as either to treat them with the lieve, are sufficiently strong to protect and silence they deserve, or will take such mea. to secure our rights, should fail us, we should sures, give such rebukes, or inflict such then be compelled to employ all those means punishments, as the propriety of the case may require. The abuse of a principle must be separated from the principle itself. Fundamental principles ought not, caunot be impaired, or be trenched upon, because abuses grow out of practices upon them. Licentiousness but too often springs up from the wickedness of mankind, under the purest forms which free Governments can be made to assume. This is incident to all human institutions; but for this the great foundation upon which they are bult, can- can a reiteration of a self-evident proposition not, ought not, to be disturbed. Those impair or weaken its force? Can the rewho administer this Government, and those petition, for ten millions of times, that two who legislate under it, must have such vir- and two make four, impair this self-evident perfectly safe, and that the morel and inteltue and wisdom, as will check and control, truth? Or the reiteration of the truth, that lectual forces of the country will prevail, so as to give a safe direction to whatever the whole is greater than a part, weaken, if southern folly and excitement do, net may come under their legitimate action. If one jot or tittle, the certainty of this postuthis should be otherwise, the Government late? Or can the fundamental truth, that

itself will fall to pieces. Senate of the United States, praying for the emancipation of slaves in the States. and nine against it. Among the nineteen petition can be sustained under a republican Government.

This distinguished patriot, soldier, and statesman, the immediate & intimate friend of Mr. Jefferson, in whose firmness cor-

rectness of opinion, and strong republican virtue, Mr. Jefferson is said to have had

lated and that the memorial "should be committed."

In 1790, on the presentment of a memorial, praying for the abolition of slavery in the States, debate arose, and began to take a warm and inflammatory character, and to assume such an aspect, as to make it proper at once to dispose of the irritating subject. Mr. Madison, then a member of he true feeling of Congress to the people of this extensive and mighty country. Congress, moved to refer it to a select com. the United States. It would have produced mittee. This was done. The report was distrust, created unkind feelings, and would made; this satisfied Congress and the coun-

try. Within a few years, petitions of a safety and happiness of this country. similar kind, were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia. A strong report was made by Mr. Doddridge, of Vir- I say to him, to this House, and to my coun- Banks. ginia, which was acceptable to Congress, try, that I believe his motives are honest and which satisfied the country.

Sir, excited gentlemen at the South, are surely not aware of the extent and character of the injury they are doing to our interests, by discussions on the memorials and petitions, which are sent here by unreflecting or wicked abolitionists. Is it not bad policy, to bring either their newspapers, be because the opportunity afforded for qui- public deposites, \$30,678,879 91; the pritheir books, or their false pictures, into public netoriety? Is this not accomplishing one useful results a strong and decided declara- circulation, \$26,248,688 29. of the objects, which they most ardently de- tion from Congress, shall be unwisely de-

The tendency of this course of action on the one side, and of the counteraction on the other, is, I contend, to throw the elements of civil society into dangerous commotions. The truth of this is deeply impressed upon my convictions, and I feel that something ought, and must be done, to arrest the tendencies which are rapidly developing them-

How different was every thing in relation to this subject during the last session of Congress, to what it has been, during the present eossion. I was gratified then, as a southern man, and as an American citizen, to observe the direction given to such anti-slavery memorials, as were presented. As they were offered then, they were sucexceptions stated, has been the invariable practice of Congress from the origin of this

the United States has been aban-loned; ever yet known in the history of mankind, got this? On what terms do they take it? I believe that without a resort to this that the course of southern presses and that two distinct colors could co-exist on Do they give interest for it? Is it in the demode, or to some other like it by which the southern policy has been abandoned; that terms of equal civil and political liberty?— posite banks in the great cities? and does broad field of discussion, opened on this vi- the order of business, and the time of this tally important subject, should be closed House, have been, to a considerable extent, the heat created here, and thrown off in occupied with the discussion of these mis-

From my earliest recollections, from my farther from its great source, but would gain intensity and violence as it progressed gain intensity and violence as it progressed people, never to write, to speak, or to print consumer the plans of Divine Providence, they under the plans of Divine Providence, they count, and exchange I beg to know what consumer the wisdom and virtue of our complete investments banks usually make. from the elements upon which it would feed. any thing on this all absorbing question.—
There is nothing in this country which has consult the old men of this day—look over connected with it so many dangers to this public legislative journals—look over the

mistaken; this has been the settled policy of the South; and wherefore depart from it?

States has been, and is so surrounded and guarded by the sanctions of prescriptive in the south; that to attempt to interest right; by long lines of inheritances; by the will eventuate in remediless injury toby the sanctions of laws, compacts, and constitution; by the approval of a purely virtion or doubt could ever be entertained by of self-defence and protection which the Providence of God has placed amply within

What I have said is not the opinion of expressed, and which was, I presume, publicly recorded in 1826.

One objection urged against the resolution under consideration is, that it is improper to reaffirm that Congress has no power to interfere with slavery in the States. How branches of Congress. These are the Congress has no power to interfere with In 1805, a memorial was offered in the slavery in the States, add or take from its who have voted for and supported the resolutions, that Congress has no competent Senate was nineteen in favor of receiving power to interfere with the existence of ultimately have had an evil bearing on the

> I approve the resolutions offered by my colleague, (Mr. Pinckney,) most cordially. the history of this country, is dear, and ever will be so to the American people.

feated. It will be defeted by creating, under unjust excitement and from bitter invectives against our northern friends, counteractions to the efforts which they have beer, is due to the Government by those banks and are still making, to rebuke and prostrate the wild and unhallowed efforts of those | specie. wicked men, who are acting without a just

be arrested. If these reckless agitators continue their course, and northern integrity and northern I see an item of "other investments," of no patriotism should not put them down, these less amount than \$8,777,228 79. What melancholy realities will be the result.-They will convulse this republic to its centre not informed. I wish for light. I have my and lay bare its massy foundations. Instead cessively laid on the table, and were never of conferring benefits upon the black race, again called up. This was in conformity whose exclusive champions they profess to with the common usage, and with the few be, they will stay prehaps forever those mel- the list. The capital of that bank is only investigated the investigation of the control of the capital of that bank is only investigated the investigation of the capital of the capit iorating causes which have been gradually \$150,000. Its portion of the public deposexercising their influences for the last thirty ites is no less a sum than \$784,764 75 .-Government, to this time. Not a word, years upon the condition of the slave popu. Now, sir, where is this money. It is not in during the whole session, was spoken, to lation of this country, and will consign it to specie in the bank itself. All its specie is the best of my recollection, on abolition, a necessary and inevitable condition of only \$51,011 95; all its discounts, loans, either on the floor of Congress, or else. greater severity. Yes, sir, they may produce that deplorable condition by which I deplore it, as a deep misfortune, that their utter destruction may be necessary to it is; it is included in the item "due from the common practice of the Gongress of secure the safety of this country. Was it banks, \$678,766 37." What banks have Sooner than this shall ever be realized, the this mark a part of the other liabilities of one or the other will be exterminated.

When the abolitionists, in their Quixotic notions of general emancipation, press forward to their objects against the arrange-

of the Union, and of life, liberty, and preperty, have made up a cool and deliberate The slave property of the slaveholdeng judgment; that northern people have nothing to do with the institutions of slavery approbation of civilized man at that period; black and to the white population, and that and since its first institution, by the joint the end may be to destroy that benetiful purchase with the united capital of northern | fabric of government, which has, for fifty and Southern men of this kind of property; years, given unrivalled happiness and prosperity to this country, and which has produced, by successive actions, the happiest declarations with regard to northern fait's and northern patriotism in reference to slavery in the slaveholding States, upon my earliest convictions with regard to that enlightened and admirable portion of our common country; upon the declarations of gentlemen from every portion of the country, possessed of all the means necessity to enable them to give just views of feling and public sentiment; upon the declarations of the people in their primary meetings, contained in their deliberate resolves; upon yesterday. It is one which was publicly the addresses and avowals o, many of the best and wisest men of the north; upon executive messages to different State Legislatures in the northern sections of the Union; and upon the unequivocal deciarationsand assurances of the great body of both grounds upon which I predicate by belief, that with the exception of the mere abolitionists, northern feeling and sentiment are prevent it, in prostrating northern folly and

Under these circumstances, and with these convictions, I call on the Congress of certainty? It cannot. I believe, with many the United States, under deep and solumn feelings, to regard this question, which is most injuriously affecting the people of this country, and to unite by some decisive act, slavery in the District of Columbia. I have to quiet and arrest the course which things was the venerable and distinguished name already declared that this is my own belief; are taking; for, if this agitating subject be is impossible that the denial of the right of not believe as we do, but entertain a differ- shall be allowed here, then you will meet in ence of opinion on an abstract constitutional this capitol, sir, some one cr two years question with regard to the powers of Con- hence, under such circumstances of feeling gress over this District. Those gentlemen and of deep dissatisfaction, as will endanger who differ from us on this point are as the safety and duration of this Union. staunch and abiding, nay, as devoted friends | call upon members from every section, of of our institutions, as the purest and loftiest this great and powerful confederation, under patriots to be found on earth. Was it politic a just and proper sense of duty to the or expedient, under these circumstances, to republic, to compromise differing opinions, assume a ground on which, for practical re- and to give confidence and security to every sults, the advocates and friends of southern section of this blessed and happy country. rights and southern security, under the com- This government was born under a lofty ciple of the Government should not be vio- on a forced and unnatural action of Con- tion, justice, and forbearance, are necesgress on the constitutional question, when sary and cardinal virtues in carrying on it was to result in an impolitic division and the great plans of self-government, first seperation of our friends? Was it politic conceived and executed by the conscript that weak vote should go forth, making it fathers of this country. All will be eleappear to the world that the great majority mental war, unless wisdom, rather than of Congress were against the rights and in- passion, shall preside over the councils of terests of the south? This would have the nation, in the management of the multigiven a false and unnatural presentation of farious interests and endless concerns of

> Debate in the U. S. Senate, March . 17, in relation to the deposit Banks and the safety of the public revenue.

Mr. Webster moved to print 3,000 extru copies of the statement of the deposits

In making this motion Mr. Webster calland disinterested; and that his conduct on ed the attention of the Senate to the document this occasion is worthy of that name which from the Treasury, shewing the state of the he bears, and which, connected as it is with deposite banks at the latest dates. He quoted from the tabular statement some of the leading facts. The immediate liabilities of Sir, if these resolutions fail to effectuate the banks amounted, it appeared, to nearly their legitimate and laudable objects, it will seventy two millions of dollars, viz. the eting the country, and for obtaining for all vate deposits, \$15,043,033 64; the bills in

The amount of specie held by these banks, it further appeared, was \$10,198. 659 24; that is to say; there is less than one dollar specie for six dollars debt; and there more than three times the amount of all the

There are other items (said he) which regard to the rights and interests of the swell the amounts on each side, such as south, or without foreseeing the throcs and debts due to banks, and debts due, convulsions which must inevitably result from banks. But these are only equalfrom their course of action, should it not ling quantities, and of no member in the view. I am taking of the question.

Among the means of these deposits banks is meant by these "other investments," I amsuspicions, but I have no proofs. Sir, look at the reported state of the Farmer's and &c., are only \$500,000; or thereabouts; where is the residue? Why, we see where these deposite banks in the cities? Now this is one question; what are these other liabilities? But, as to these "other investments," I say again I wish to know what ments and the established order of things they are. Besides real estate, loans, dis-